1: Honigmann, E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

stopping in Lower Post following employment with a government survey party. While the legally worded charge was being read the accused unthinkingly turned his back on the magistrate. For this he was sharply rebuked. Pleading guilty, the youth was questioned concerning the source of the liquor. He affirmed that soldiers had given him a bottle of rum. The magistrate sarcastically remarked that such generosity to Indians was difficult to understand, since most soldiers were themselves short of liquor. He then imposed a fine of fifteen dollars and costs, and adjourned court while the defendant, in company with the provincial policeman, went to friends trying to borrow the money. The boy came to the ethnographer's cabin and there found Daisy Joe, an Indian woman, whose common law husband was a white man. The policeman had recently caught this woman in the company of her husband carrying a gunny sack of beer. Now, suffering from severe toothache, she was uneasily waiting to see if her offense would also come to trial. When the boy asked Daisy (a nonrelative) for money, the policeman became suspicious and remarked: "Maybe that's where you bought the liquor!" This accusation was firmly denied by both parties as well as by Daisy's white husband.

Trials are conducted so as to be punitive as well as judicial. Several times we heard the magistrate making an attempt to frighten the Indians from drinking. There is no question but that the people are afraid of court proceedings, although they are never sufficiently intimidated to reveal the true sources from which liquor is secured. Thereby they protect their access to those sources. Most of the time court proceedings are conducted on a level of formality and a plain of experience quite foreign to the Indians. The efforts of the magistrate to command respect and proper courtroom demeanor are both pitiful and amusing.

Ingroup Relations

In this section, cooperative action and conflict within the Kaska nation as a whole is considered. In the section immediately following discussion will take up relations between Kaska and non-Kaska individuals.

It is in keeping with the atomistic character of Kaska society that cooperation within a tribe or within the nation as a whole should be unknown. No mechanisms for bringing about the unified functioning of these groups are available and group sentiment is transient and ephemeral. Under such conditions it is not surprising that the development of social policies has scarcely gained even a foothold in the group. About thirty-five years ago, under the direction of a white man, James Teit, the Kaska were involved in an attempt to further group interests by supporting a social ideology.[51] The movement was directed toward the preservation of the Indians' right to trap anywhere in the country without being confined to registered trap lines, which were at that time being introduced in British Columbia. As the first task of implementing this social policy, the Indians contributed money which was to be used to institute legal proceedings. Teit, however, is alleged to have absconded with the funds collected. At any rate, the policy met with no success. Even in this group movement, as reported by Old Man, we can detect the spirit of individualistic opportunism at work. "We're trapping Yukon side. White man tell us, 'Yukon trappers put up five dollars. B. C. trappers put up one hundred dollars.' They do that. Old Chief put up five hundred

[51] We have adopted this term from Kardiner who uses it to refer to "a system of ideas which ensks implementation by action to gain or preserve certain interests," Kardiner, *The Psychological Frontiers of Society* (1945), 371.

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dollars. That's his kids. He's got maybe five kid. Each put up one hundred dollars. *He figger he gonna take whole Hyland River.* Old Kean put up one hundred fifty dollars. My brother put up ten dollars. They say from Lower Post three thousand dollars going." The imputed motive of Old Chief (which we have italicized) is significant, since it points out the lack of ingroup solidarity and the self-centeredness of the individual. Old Chief received his designation from white men and should not be regarded as an executive whose legitimacy was derived from the native society.

Today only unorganized and diffused traces of social ideologies are encountered. All of these emphasize better governmental care of the Indian and consist mainly of pleas and complaints which never achieve a stage where they are implemented by action. Interest was shown toward a Canadian Commonwealth Federation (C. C. F.) organizer who came to Lower Post in 1945. Old Man, who heard of the man indirectly from John Kean, spoke approvingly of the "new government" and thought it would "do something" for the Indian.

Interpersonal antagonism characterizes most of the relations of men in the area and is even the most prominent feature of interpersonal relations within a tribal district. Despite the ideal attitude commanding a person to mind his own business, the common expression of this latent hostility is through malicious gossip and backbiting. Such expression, however, is confined to good friends and older men who are not apt to carry the calumnies back to the subjects. Young men and most women show a strong and consistent reluctance to gossip or criticize, and it is only in an unguarded moment or during intoxication that their feelings are permitted escape. The careful control on the expression of hostility is related to the Kaska Indian's great fear of giving offense to people and thereby damaging his own reputation. Old Man illustrated this tactfulness abundantly. He felt that Old Lady Metila had to be given a good funeral for fear of otherwise offending her daughter, Lady Suza. Following the death of her mother the latter was received in Old Man's house as a temporary accommodation, but the old man soon regretted his action as he began to perceive that Lady Suza and her youngest son, Donald, were depleting his stock of grub. He was extremely reluctant however, to take any action that would give offense. Instead he complained to the ethnographer of his guests' eating habits and criticized young Donald's laziness. A large part of his resentment was expressed in the socially permitted form of tormenting the sister youth for his indifferent work habits.

The hypocrisy between even good friends is striking. Old Kean and Old Man had spent a sociable evening drinking brew together and complimenting each other. Two days later Old Kean criticized Old Man bitterly. He accused the latter of illegally trapping on both sides of the Liard River, affirming that the other man had no right to cross the stream. Then he alluded to Old Man's long association with white men and implied that Old Man was beginning to think of himself as a white man. He ended up by branding his friend as "full of bullshit," that is, a liar. A few days later Old Kean aired his resentment of River Joe, whom he accused of trying to be the boss of the whole country. He fancifully threatened to put River Joe in jail.

Similar attitudes prevailed in the relationship of Old Man and River Joe. Together the two always appeared to be good friends, but behind the other's back Old Man was tirelessly

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

Status of women. An adequate picture of the status of women in Kaska society must include consideration of several interdependent factors. These include the ideal attitudes of men regarding women, manifest behaviors of men toward women, and women's attitudes and behaviors toward men.

Ideally men recognize no intrinsic difference in intelligence between the sexes. On the other hand, by virtue of his activities, a man regards himself as superior to a woman. Because he traps and hunts, and through these activities supports a woman, he is "better" than she is. Old Man, who refused a direct answer to the question of which sex was superior, somewhat obliquely pointed out that a man who has lost his wife can be independent of a woman, making his own snowshoes, moccasins, and so on. Sexual antagonism of men is sometimes betrayed in derogatory remarks about women. Such remarks are: "He's just like woman," or "He's worse than woman."

Manifestly we find a woman to be economically dependent on a man although not necessarily on her husband. In marriage men perform the principal economic routines, supplying the household with most consumer and capital goods. It is interesting to note, however, that many men are reluctant to hunt or trap for long periods without the company of their wives. Old Man's statement that a widower can get along without a wife is belied by the events in his own life; he became emotionally upset, suicidal, and alcoholic following the death of his second wife and has been married three times. Such observations offer convincing proof of the fact that men are not content to live alone. Rather, a mature man's existence without a wife is sometimes characterized as "being hard time." Women, on the other hand, show a greater readiness to live independently and, as widows, do not show the eagerness to remarry which is revealed by men. A widow, perhaps with the aid of a daughter or sister, often becomes economically self-supporting, hunting moose and trapping as well as tending to female allocated duties. The woman's greater capacity for independence is probably related to the fact that men rarely do women's work, while as children women are in a position to learn many of the duties of the opposite sex and are better prepared to be self-sufficient. Matrilocal residence in marriage also operates to reduce both a woman's emotional and economic dependence on her husband. Finally, the status of women is further benefited by the fact that the society does not restrict a woman's activities by limiting them. Despite the fact that she may have several children, a woman will often move camp several times a year, accompany her husband traveling, and generally show no sign of being tied down or frustrated in a wide range of behavior. This freedom gives her opportunities to gain further knowledge of male allocated techniques and routines which may someday be useful and thereby lowers her degree of dependence.

We do not, however, find any pronounced reflection of a woman's potential independence and self-sufficiency in her marital relationship. Although in most families a wife is consulted before her husband makes any major decisions, there are few women who display dominant or matriarchal characteristics although sometimes a man's ineffectualness leads his wife to assume a firm command over family matters. Women generally reveal passive and compliant personalities and are willing to follow the lead of their husbands.

The expression of masculine striving in some girls seems to reflect a discontent with the less prestiged, more unexciting activities of women. Several such expressions were col-

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181 128 A related difficulty arises with respect to the valuational connotation associated with some of the words used to describe Kaska dominant motivations. It is inevitable that the characterization of personality by the use of words which have obtained currency in European and American psychiatry and clinical psychology should be loaded with implicit value. Overtones of value emerge from terms like passivity, dependence, mastery, and ego strength. Kardiner has defended the necessary use of similar terms because of their utility, but has rejected characterizations like "normal" and "abnormal" as pure value or moral judgements.[2] Three cautions may guide us through this predicament. In the fist place, psychiatric descriptions borrowed from one cultural context and applied to behavior of non-western societies do not necessarily have the same significance which they enjoy n the psychiatrist's own social group. Isolation, dependence, constriction, and moderate ep tonicity, when applied to the Kaska, *by themselves* never denote positive or negative value; intrinsically they are neither good nor bad. In the second place, terms like anxiety, frutration, fear, and others always denote unpleasant psychological states. Finally, defenses (ike passivity) developed against unpleasant states (like anxiety) are to be regarded as eithr able to resolve, or incapable of resolving, those conditions. Any final appraisal of such deenses, however, involves a psychiatric rather than a moral judgement which, if made, mus always take due cognizance of all the relevant facts within a specific cultural context. In ther words, the anthropologist choosing to make such an appraisal must prepare himself toestimate objectively the efficiency of a socially patterned defense system in terms of its socia consequences.

In discussing each motivation our procedure will be to first giv a definition. This will generally be followed by a description of the motive's expressio in observed behavior, verbal communication, and inferred unconscious attitudes. Wherevr possible the expression of the motive in the Rorschach test situation will also be considered.

With regard to the definition of the dominant motivations, it is ur experience that membership in a society which fails to understand an attitude, for exaple flexibility, makes it extremely difficult to define such a construct in positive terms. W can much more readily say what flexibility is not; for in a society like ours, which stresse order and routine, any absence of these attributes is quickly noted. An attempt is nevertheles made to present, in some degree, an objective and positive definition of all dominant ntivations. In discussing the expression of the motivations, attention is centered on the maner in which they enter into many cultural situations; in other words, emphasis is directed amuch as possible on the influence exerted by these aspects of personality on the adaptive ad adjustive features of Kaska culture.

A word may be added concerning the procedure followed in decribing the expression of the dominant motivations in the Rorschach test. The meaning f the response category in every case is clearly given and either generally follows the standard interpretation of that category as formulated by Rorschach experts or else involves an explicitly stated assumption making the interpretation more applicable to the Kaska.

Egocentricity

181 156 Egocentricity refers to a dominant motivation charged with a high evaluation of individualism and personal independence. Interests are self-centered rather than group cen-

[2] Kardiner, *The Psychological Frontiers of Society* (1945), 229, 234-237, 272-278.

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tered in such a point of view, and tendencies toward altruism and social identification have either a limited development or are absent. The initiation of activity tends to come from within the egocentric individual rather than from others and is correlated with a strong sense of personal responsibility for success or failure.

A striking correspondence is apparent between the egocentric aspect of Kaska personality and Horney's "detached" personality type.[4] The outstanding characteristic of this type, Horney finds, "is a need for *self-sufficiency*. Its most positive expression is resourcefulness . . . In the detached type the spirit is like Robinson Crusoe's: he has to be resourceful to live. It is the only way he can compensate for his isolation." She goes on to show that "Self-sufficiency and privacy both serve his most outstanding end, the need for utter independence. He himself considers his independence a thing of personal value . . . It manifests itself in hypersensitivity to everything in any way resembling coercion, influence, obligation and so on." Continuing, she says: "When the detached person's feeling of superiority is temporarily shattered, whether by concrete failure or by an increase of inner conflicts . . . he may reach out frantically for affection and protection." As a psychiatrist working in a particular cultural milieu, Horney sees the goals of the detached personality as "negative: he wants not to be involved, not to need anybody, not to allow others to intrude on or influence him." She stresses the fundamental inutility of such trends in western society. In contrast, however, the similar trend here labelled egocentricity is far more realistic in an atomistic society like that of the Kaska, where everyone is equally detached and relative self-sufficiency is economically possible.

Egocentricity and the tonicity of the ego. Egocentricity will first be discussed in connection with ego tonicity, variously expressed as ego strength, ego feeling, or self-esteem. Perhaps the simplest definition for the common referent of these concepts is: "The individual's image and evaluation of himself."[5] Here we will include with that definition the psychoanalytic notion of the ego as the partially conscious, executive mechanism of the personality through which, we may assume, the goals of the dominant motivations become realized or meet frustration.

Without at this time anticipating in detail data to be presented in connection with the other dominant motives, we may say that the facts point to the presence of moderately developed ego strength in the average Kaska Indian. Although, as will become clear, many problems are defined by the individual's doubt of his capacity for mastery, there is, on the other hand, evidence for inferring the ability of the ego to master many situations of potential danger. The people survive in an uncongenial environment and are generally optimistic of their capacity to adapt. There is no exclusive readiness to rely on traditional solutions of adaptive problems but a certain ability to experiment. Thus Hans Donnelly reported trying various woods for toboggan manufacture, despite the fact that traditionally the use of birch is specified for this purpose. People are rarely "stuck" in adaptive problems but show a considerable amount of resourcefulness and ingenuity for pulling themselves out of danger. Without the ability to make too fine discriminations, we must be content to postulate mod-

[4] Horney, *Our Inner Conflicts* (1945), 75–81.

[5] Maslow and Mittelmann, *Principles of Abnormal Psychology* (1941), 131. Compare Beck's definition of the ego: "a consciousness of values to which the individual clings and which he wants the world to respect." Beck, *Rorschach's Test. II. A Variety of Personality Pictures* (1945), 21.

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erate ego feeling, or neither excessively high nor low self-esteem. Such a conclusion seems warranted by the facts considered above as well as by the absence of directly expressed self-pity, the manifest pride in achievement, and, on the negative side, by the tendency to bolster self-esteem, placing the blame for misfortune on others, and showing up the inferiority of others. The readiness to apply empirical thinking also demonstrates a certain degree of positive ego development; on the other hand, we find this type of thought paralleled by mysticism, in which ego control surrenders to unconscious wishes and anxieties.

Beck has postulated that the stronger the ego, the more good form responses will appear in the Rorschach record while poor form answers often indicate personal needs distorting perception.[6] The mean Kaska adult *F*+ and *F*− scores show a balance in favor of good form responses.

	Mean (R = 22.16)
F+	9.21
F−	5.84

Despite inability to correlate quantitatively form perception with ego tonicity, these figures confirm the interpretation that the Kaska level of self-esteem is not excessively low and that its strength is probably undermined by the intrusion of passive longings.

Expression of egocentricity. All positive expression of egocentricity in Kaska behavior may be understood as a statement by the individual affirming his ability to accomplish a task upon his own initiative, or declaring his independence from other people. Some situations, however, may overwhelm the person with their complexity or else be beyond his capacities. In such cases a threat to egocentricity, arising in part from the operation of contradictory motives, promotes reactions of guilt and anxiety. By discussing egocentricity as the first of the dominant motivations, we hope to show its important and consciously accepted position in Kaska personality. It is unfortunate that in this advance position we cannot too clearly relate the motive to the other dominant motivations still awaiting discussion. We may, however, refer to egocentricity and utilitarianism as representing the self-asserting and self-sufficient trends of Kaska personality. The expression of egocentric attitudes will first be discussed in connection with technical, social, and religious situations. We will then take up the question of differences in egocentricity between men and women, the general reactions produced by threats to the egocentric goal and, finally the expression of egocentricity in the Rorschach test situation.

Together with utilitarianism, egocentricity dominates most of the technical routines of Kaska culture, investing those activities with conscious meaning. Work becomes significant because it guarantees the person's independence and self-sufficiency or, if adaptive difficulties arise, threaten those aims with failure—that is, imperil the maintenance of egocentricity. Successful hunting, construction, and traveling represent self-assertion.

Independence is assured in Kaska economic life by the fact that most technological activities do not require people to work together for common ends, nor need many persons

[6] Beck, *Rorschach's Test. II. A Variety of Personality Pictures* (1945), 20, 21. Poor form answers may also be caused by erroneous perception due to intoxication or excitement.

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participate in an activity for its completion. Individualism contrasts Kaska society to a cooperative social group, in which a number of people work with one another for the common good (the usual voluntaristic definition of cooperation), and also to a competitive society, whose members tacitly agree to participate in an activity but work *against* one another. Among the Kaska both forms of cooperation are largely lacking and the consequent individualistic emphasis may be partly understood as a result of egocentric striving. Specific expressions of egocentrism in economic life are abundant. The motive is demonstrated in the personal initiative which governs economic relationships and allows an economic partner to withdraw from such a relationship when it no longer proves congenial. What cooperation exists in the technical culture is primarily on a voluntaristic basis. The economic independence of a family unit rests on foundations of personal independence and responsibility. Psychologically, the family can survive alone because its adult members place a high value on being able to live independently and resourcefully without major external assistance. Egocentric trends are also manifested in the reluctance of people to undertake wage work for other Indians or white men. An individual's values are such that only personal goals are invested with emotional appeal; and the more remote a task from one's immediate interests, the less attractive its valence.

The sense of personal responsibility for success and failure is revealed in the fact that a hunter experiences disappointment when he fails to secure meat and, in spite of the fact that he suppresses manifest emotionality, appears intensely satisfied when he has done well in hunting. This observation is corroborated by the observation that in no case is a successful hunt seriously ascribed to "luck"—personal satisfaction from the exercise of egocentric striving rarely permitting any diffusion of affect away from the ego. Lack of success, however, in order to relieve the sense of failure, shows a tendency to be allocated to supernatural causation. It is in motivating hunting behavior that egocentricity reveals itself most strongly as the positive driving force of Kaska personality. Overemphasis would be difficult in describing the optimism with which the Indian approaches hunting. Self-assured, confident of success, conscious of a subjective command over the venture, the hunter sees his task as the acme of personal achievement. That successful young women hunters overtly display such emotional reactions (which men inhibit) points up both their eagerness to identify with this male vocation as well as the role's importance for personal self-esteem and satisfaction. Egocentricity must also be credited as motivating the conquest of early patterned fear of the bush, a victory for all boys and some girls, which permits the egocentric gratifications afforded by successful hunting and trapping.

Turning now to the social expression of egocentricity, we find independence assured by the atomism of social life—the consequence of a low degree of social identification. The egocentric sense of personal responsibility is related to the fact that a person rarely feels accountable beyond his family, and is apt even to resent criticism from that source. In other words, an egocentrically motivated attempt is made to insulate against awareness of social expectations. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that a sense of guilt is more important for insuring conformity than a feeling of shame. Any attempt to induce shame probably only succeeds to the degree that it generates guilt. External sanctions are also resented because they imperil independence. Here is the root of the Indian's negativistic attitudes to

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the white man's law and the regulative functions of government. Nitla's words demonstrate the connection between a desire for inviolable independence and the denial of external authority: "Injun nothing boss. He feed himself. He live on the meat. Nothing boss the Injun." Going on, he sought to point out the meaninglessness of authority which is not legitimized by a validated protective-role. Game, Nitla said, is fed by Jesus, not by the government. Jesus "make this ground . . . He the boss for it. Well, He make white people, He make game, anything. Well, He boss to anything." The white man made nothing in the native's environment, hence he cannot properly assume authority.

In his ingroup relationships the Indian is also self-centered and nonauthoritarian. He does not seek authority in interpersonal relations, and others can scarcely tell him what to do—initiation of activity must come from within. Egocentricity thus leaves little room for patterns of leadership. Few people know how to direct others effectively and white men who try to originate action in social affairs, like dances or trading, meet with apathy and usually fail to realize their suggestions. In most cooperative enterprises, like berry picking or poling a boat, each participant selects his role with a minimum of direction. Within the Indian community, there is a consistent reluctance to give direction or, except in cases of manifest danger, as in adapting to the winter environment, even venture direct suggestion. "We do it this way," the Indian says when approached for help or advice, the implication being that the pupil may or may not follow the traditional pattern. There is little attempt to force adherence to habitual modes of procedure. Personal standards govern the manufacture of cultural products. For example, Hans Donnelly provoked considerable amusement when he constructed a doorway to his tent frame which only suited his own small dimensions, and built a toboggan that was also smaller than most of these vehicles. Although they may be extreme, these examples are not exceptional. Instead of cultural objects being manufactured in close accordance with traditional forms, we find toboggans lashed with insulated wire cable, and other cultural products utilizing scraps of material salvaged from the refuse dumps behind Watson Lake Airport. Any analysis of material products of behavior confirms the absence of formal patterns and indicates the readiness with which variations are developed.

Self-interest sometimes leads to selfishness, people generally showing little appreciation of values like self-sacrifice. When in danger a man tends to look out for himself or his immediate family. Old Man, going home from a dance at which there had been drinking, saw a car in town belonging to the Mounted Police but warned nobody of what was certainly a threatening state of affairs. On another occasion Dorothy Plover's sister warned her brother, who was intoxicated at a dance, that the provincial policeman was walking through Lower Post. The two young people fled without warning anyone else. Self-interest is revealed historically in the fact that once when a social ideology was adopted (under the leadership of a white man), one Indian at least clearly manifested a primary concern with personal gain. The Kaska Indian's preoccupation with his own welfare is even expressed in his complaint that the government does not help the Indians; in reality the center of reference is the speaker, who sees himself standing to benefit from any generous Indian policy.

In some cases egocentricity is overdeveloped to a point where it motivates deviant behavior. Such an individual neglects to project his desire for independence and personal

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freedom and tries to dominate others by authoritarian direction. This behavior imperils the individual's value of deference by earning him considerable disapproval and dislike. Authoritarianism, in the few Kaska individuals where it occurs, is too complex for analysis simply as a device for reinforcing self-interest and independence by controlling other people in much the same way as the normal personality seeks to control the natural environment. In addition, the dominant man in the society may be a particularly aggressive person who, contrary to social expectations, too freely releases hostility. Nevertheless, despite these ramifications men like John Kean, Peter Lang, and Harry Lang may have their deviance partly understood as following from a failure to project the desire for personal inviolability. Instead they attempt to carry over into social relationships egocentrically motivated demands for personal control.

From what has been said, it is apparent that egocentricity motivates the characteristic individualism of the Kaska Indians. Besides being expressed in the atomistic social structure, we find this note extended into the games which people play. Team organization is rudimentary in the popular stick game, teams being little more than a series of individuals playing together. Members bet against single persons on the opposite side and otherwise manifest little tendency to cohere as a group. It remains to be seen how competitive sports may someday become integrated into such a personality setting.

Egocentricity also finds expression in sex, sexual relations being unconsciously identified with successful hunting and sexual potency with feelings of general capacity and mastery. The evidence for the relationship of self-assertion to sex is indicated in the socially patterned interpretation of sexual dreams. Referring to a dream characterized by his son-in-law's sexual sadism toward a widow, Stella Wiley, Old Man said: "I look for Stella on ice all day—I mean animal." He explained, saying: "If you dream you play with girl and then hunt, you kill a [female] animal." In other words, on the day following the dream Old Man looked for game on the frozen river. The relationship of sex to self-assertion will be more extensively discussed below.[1]

Egocentricity in men and women. We have described the operation of egocentricity in behavior which seeks to maintain independence, self-interest, and responsibility. Attention will now be directed to the relative development of egocentricity in the sexes.

The ethnographic data have already revealed that some women show a tendency to emulate the roles of men and to anticipate unfavorably the state of motherhood; their behavior is expressive of masculine striving and suggests considerable self-assertion. Although in marriage women are generally content to permit husbands to originate important action and are prepared to offer a number of personal comforts which men do not reciprocate, married women still continue to seek opportunity for realizing their capacities through hunting and trapping. Widows show little immediate inclination to remarry but are often possessed of sufficient initiative and resourcefulness to support themselves independently. All these data express a considerable degree of feminine individualism and independence. They are evidence that, like men, women are also motivated by egocentric striving. A few feminine behaviors suggest less egocentricity for that sex. Women, in contrast to men, have

[1] See below, pp. 295-298. For the relationship of Old Man's failing capacities to dreams of sexual potency see the analysis of his personality below, p. 330.

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from childhood been trained for a serving role, and this renders them more passive. Within the family, women cooperate more freely. In these situations, therefore, they show a weaker motive of self-assertion and somewhat less self-interest. On the whole, we may conclude that egocentricity seems to be quite firmly patterned in the feminine personality but is sometimes modified by the demands of the woman's marital role.

Threat to egocentric goals. For the present we will limit discussion to threats occurring in the man's personality as a result of failure to realize his egocentric values. Threats to feminine egocentricity can be better understood when considered in relation to other motives. As long as the ego is able to withstand the stresses of living and unable to perceive any conscious conflict of egocentricity and incompatible motives, the Kaska Indian approaches life with confidence. Any interference with the maintenance of egocentric trends, through failure of the executive functions of the ego, is inevitably accompanied by threat and anxiety. In critical situations, when expression of the egocentric motivation is blocked, when independence or self-reliance have been overwhelmed or expect to meet defeat, we find a mustering of passive forms of mastery, such as reliance on luck, withdrawal from the field, procrastination, and hypochondriasis—defenses all, designed for the ego's protection against mounting anxiety. In a society which demands considerable personal exertion in the process of getting a living, in which there are few alternative economic roles to choose from, and in which dependency and passivity are anxiety provoking, we may expect old age and illness to be traumatic phenomena, particularly in men.[8] Hypochondriasis is a common feature of the adult male personality and represents a common type of defense against situations in which the ego feels unable to achieve goals of independence and responsibility. Preoccupation with symptoms as an excuse for achievement, therefore, in part represents a passive withdrawal from the field of struggle. Its appearance occurs mainly in mature men, like Louis Maza and Old Man, but is already begun to be shown by a young married man like Hans Donnelly. Such men are expected to bear the brunt of economic responsibility but exhibit ego tonicity insufficient to support their socially patterned role.

Expression in the Rorschach test situation. We have already alluded to the form answers as related to one aspect of this motivation—self-esteem. Other criteria, applying partially to egocentricity are, those measuring the introversive trends of the personality. Klopfer and Kelley have defined the introvert as "predominantly motivated from within."[9] and this is the general significance of the term as employed by Rorschach workers. If we limit introversion, as measured by the Rorschach technique, to denote the responsiveness of the individual to his own values and ideals (in contrast to extraversion, in which the values are in the environment) we may assume that introversion expresses one important aspect of egocentricity.

Klopfer and Kelley have listed three criteria for determining the relative degrees of introversion and extraversion of Rorschach subjects. These are, the ratio of the number of human responses to the sum of all color answers (M:sum C); the ratio of animal plus inanimate movement to shading, texture, and achromatic color responses ($FM+m$):($Fc+c+C'$) and,

[8] This generalization is well illustrated in the case of Old Man, who, during the past few years, has been coming to feel the limitations imposed on his physical powers by advancing years and failing eyesight. See the analysis of his personality below.

[9] Klopfer and Kelley, *The Rorschach Technique* (1942), 221.

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finally the percentage of responses given to the last three cards.[10] The significance of these three criteria may be briefly summarized according to their definition by Klopfer and Kelley.

M:sum C	Indicates the balance between promptings from within and stimuli from without as far "as the subject can utilize these motivating forces."
(FM+m):(Fc+c+C')	Represents the introversial and extraversial tendencies not fully accepted or utilized.
Cards VIII, IX, X/R	Indicates the degree of "responsiveness to stimuli from without which is even less under the conscious control of the subject than the use of action and color elements."

The relevant figures for Kaska adults are given below:

	Mean (R = 22.16)
M:sum C	1.16:.97
(FM+m):(Fc+c+C')	3.32:.90
VIII, IX, X/R	34 Per Cent

In the two ratios, the left hand terms indicate introversive tendencies. The ratio of movement to the sum of the color responses lies in the direction of introversion, although not significantly so. In the second ratio, similar but stronger introversion is indicated. The conclusion follows that, although the Kaska do not seem to be able to draw upon a rich source of inner motivation, their tendency nevertheless is to rely upon themselves rather than to be responsive to pressure from the external environment. In the percentage of responses to the last three cards, the figure of thirty-four per cent is less than the forty per cent automatically expected, any excess of which is significant of external stimulation. The mean percentage given by the Kaska is also not below the thirty per cent level at which underproduction is stated to occur. Inspection of the records, however, reveals that many responses to the last three cards make little use of the color for concept formation. Here too, then, we can speak of a tendency to introversion manifested in the fact that outside stimulation has relatively little effect on the motivational life of the subject. We may conclude that Rorschach analysis tends to confirm the picture of egocentricity as denoting a personality organization in which there is strong interest in retaining independence from outside pressures with primary reliance on personal initiative.

Reference has been made to the expression of independence and individualism in the lack of interest which the individual shows in working for others. Such lack of motivation is reflected in the resistance to the Rorschach test situation, particularly in the high number of rejections.[11]

Résumé. A description of the operation of egocentricity has been offered in which the goals of this dominant motivation were identified as including personal independence, self-centeredness of values, and a sense of individualistic responsibility. Egocentricity constitutes one of the relatively self-assertive motives of the Kaska personality and is associated with a

[10] Klopfer and Kelley, The Rorschach Technique (1942), 253-254.

[11] For a tabulation of rejections see above, p. 243.

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moderate development of the ego. No profound difference in the egocentric direction of the masculine or feminine personality seems to obtain. Under situations of stress, illness, and old age, because of the failure of the physical capacities of the individual, the ego becomes unable to execute the egocentric demands of the personality. This leads the individual to resort to passive forms of mastery which conflict with the egocentric goal, thereby arousing anxiety.

Utilitarianism

In referring to an aspect of Kaska motivation, utilitarianism denotes a practical, functional, ingenious approach to the problems of living, and the ability to grapple with the problems resourcefully. The motivation aims toward mastery of experience via concrete, immediate thinking, sparing a minimum of attention for abstract speculation or non-functional elements of craftmanship like beauty, decoration, and perfectionism.

This section will consider the expression of utilitarianism in adaptive situations, personally adjustive behavior, the Rorschach test situation, and, finally, with reference to the Kaska Indian's reality system.

Adaptive expression. Utilitarianism, in motivating practical and ingenious behavior, bears a close relationship to the dominant motivation of egocentricity. As already pointed out, together the two dominant motivations may be described as headed for a goal of self-sufficiency, utilitarianism aiding the achievement of independence by providing practical resourcefulness. Whereas egocentricity sponsors the attitude: "I must do this by myself," utilitarianism reinforces individualism with the statement: "I can do this alone." Faced with a rigorous and often dangerous environment, the Indian must be resourceful and competent in meeting the problems which he encounters in the atomistic social setting of his making, where cooperation is limited and professional assistance unobtainable.[13]

The role of utilitarianism in motivating adaptive problem solution is well illustrated by the characteristic resourcefulness and ingenuity displayed by Kaska Indians. Consider, for example, the cleverness with which men use common tools as substitutes for more refined implements—the ax as a saw or plane, the knife as a chisel and plane. Despite the Indian's preference for modern tools, he is never hampered when confronted with a necessary task whose postponement is impossible but for which suitable appliances are not available. Ingenuity leads a man to manufacture usable substitute equipment. While making snowshoes, preparatory to visiting the trap line, Hans Donnelly discovered that the settlement lacked small sized bits for drilling holes in the wooden frames. Spending eight to nine hours in heating and beating down the point of a file, Hans succeeded in manufacturing a suitable drill point which he then mounted in a wooden handle. When tools break in the winter trapping districts, where replacements are difficult to obtain, they are often soundly repaired with few other aids than a file, wire, and babiche. We have seen lost firing pins for .22 caliber rifles replaced with filed down nails, and split ax handles serviceably lashed with babiche. No commercial machine or apparatus, other than perhaps the radio (and here curiosity is begin-

[13] This statement may be modified if we consider that Indians sometimes secure a little expert mechanical assistance from white trappers in Lower Post. During much of the year, however, such specialized advice is not obtainable.

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157 x 181 *Reality systems.* Kardiner has found it useful to distinguish between two types of reality systems.[34] Both have emotional components, but the first is derived from empirical sources while the second is of projective origin, being related to early experiences of the individual. A less developed projective system, Kardiner says, may be correlated with a greater degree of adaptability.[35] It goes without saying that an empirical reality system is also influenced by the individual's early life. For our present purpose we may distinguish between these two reality systems on the basis of whether they rely on empirical or mystical explanations for phenomena.

Utilitarianism among the Kaska is associated with a moderately developed empirical and a more restricted projective reality system. Illness, death, and a host of other experiences tend to be explained in empirical terms, or with reliance on deductive reasoning and analogy rather than on mystical apprehensions. We are thus returned to the earlier formulation of moderate ego strength as a characteristic of Kaska personality. Just as the empirical reality system tends to affirm ego strength, the ethological significance of the projective reality system is to deny the fortitude of the ego. Projective thought comes into operation as a result of the passivity which chronically underlies the person's self-sufficiency. Projective thinking among the Kaska is distinguished by a desire to avoid offense to the supernatural lest trouble befall the individual. Some loose integration of Christian attitudes toward the supernatural has also occurred, the emphasis in these being to solicit help from the supernatural in order to avoid trouble. Many of the dominant motivations, whose operations will now be described, have as their goal a passive adjustment to reality. Among other things we will note their relation to the projective reality system.

Résumé. Utilitarianism has been described to show its functions in assuring the adaptation and psychological adjustment of the individual. Characterized by resourcefulness, ingenuity, and concrete thinking along practical lines, this dominant motivation organizes experience in a manner designed to guard against the need for passive adjustments. In association with a lack of concern for perfectionism, art, and beauty, utilitarianism serves to concentrate energy on elemental survival needs. It is related to a moderately developed empirical reality system, an underemphasis of abstract, speculative systematization, and lack of serious or careful planning toward the future.

Deference

156 x 181 Deference denotes a dominant motivation directed to maintaining warm human relations, that provide assurance of the individual being liked and respected. The expression of deference is marked by care to avoid arousing anger or hostility and by conscious antipathy to aggression.

128 x 181 First we shall consider the expression of deference in behavior and ideas, followed by consideration of the hostility component in Kaska personality, and opportunities taken for the discharge of aggression.

156 x 181 *Expression of deference.* The importance of deference in an atomistic social structure need

[34] Kardiner, *The Psychological Frontiers of Society* (1945), 38-46.

[35] "... a society which is dominated by projective techniques lacks adaptability...." Kardiner, *The Psychological Frontiers of Society* (1945), 44.

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scarcely be stressed and has, in fact, already been pointed out in the evaluation of the social culture. In a society without effective group controls, the unharnessed expression of hostility could rapidly assume suicidal proportions with retaliatory counter aggression permitting little personal safety. Such a society would have difficulty in maintaining itself, the degree of deference (in association with strong instigation to frustration) being inversely correlated with the imminence of social self-destruction.[10] Although cultural instigations to frustration do not appear excessive in Kaska society, the people avoid even approximating a reign of terror in interpersonal relations by encouraging strong and consistent attitudes against hostility. A wide variety of situations may be cited to show how behavior has been organized to avoid the threat of hostile interpersonal relations.

One is immediately struck by the pattern of avoiding refusals when requests are nevertheless not well received. Thus a solicitation for assistance may be met with silence or a cryptic "must be," although the individual has no intention of complying. Often the answer is, "yes," whereupon the commitment is forgotten. Many people made such equivocal promises to the ethnographer during the course of field work, their aim being to avoid offending the ethnographer by direct refusal and thereby, as the Indians thought, arousing resentment. Sometimes a request for assistance will be referred to a supposedly more capable person. The ethnographer sought to persuade several women (who were recommended for their special abilities) to manufacture a parka and a packsack. Direct refusal was never given. Twice the women nominated some more capable worker; once a promise of assistance was given and not fulfilled. From the standpoint of deference such lies, founded on the implicit premise: "Avoid offense in order to avoid trouble," must be regarded as expressions of tact. While a mockery of promises is often disconcerting to white people, it is more than likely that broken commitments do not rankle within the Indian community. Furthermore, in a setting where self-sufficiency is a primary value, requests for assistance are kept at a minimum. Necessary requests are usually carefully and obliquely made. Thus a man going hunting will announce his intention to a friend. Should the latter want to join, he says so. If he fails to answer, the hunter (depending on how strongly he wants game) either postpones the trip or goes alone. When Old Mettin died, Old Man, in the presence of the ethnographer, asked rhetorically how assistance for building the coffin could be secured since both his sons-in-law were on their trap lines. Although demurring when the ethnographer offered to carry a message by following Harry Lang's trail, Old Man was obviously relieved to secure an answer to the problem.

Deference is similarly revealed in the avoidance of direct suggestions which might offend an individual. To the ethnographer Old Man sometimes expressed his belief that grouse might be found at certain points near the settlement. After several such remarks, it was perceived that he was obliquely suggesting our hunting these birds. In the same way hints of dwindling meat and grub constitute tactful suggestions that sons-in-law hunt or visit the trading post. Indirect requests avoiding explicit direction illustrate the need to forestall arousing resentment in the interests of deference and the egocentrically motivated desire to avoid dominance in interpersonal relations. From both standpoints, such behavior demon-

[10] For a study of a society without social control and giving minimal attention to patterning deferent personality goals see, Henry, *Jungle People* (1941).

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156 x 181 strates tact. An individual realizes his own resistance to authoritarianism and projects a similar feeling into others. He knows that domination must be avoided, because it is likely to produce rebellion or hostility.

156 578 x 181 The most direct expression of deference is found in the exclusion of face to face quarrels. When a situation becomes too intense and anger has been provoked, women, particularly, often escape the consequences of such provocation by running away. Sometimes, as further illustrated in connection with humor, a joke is conceived in order to relieve a situation of emotional stress. All escape from potential hostility is regarded as intelligent behavior. Actually, remarkably little quarreling or violence characterizes Kaska interpersonal relations. The avoidance of violence is well illustrated in the case of Nitla, Adele, and John Kean, to which several references have already been made. In this marital triangle, Nitla felt considerable hostility toward his brother, but took no direct action against him: Many societies are known in which a husband's violence could safely be predicted for an affair of this kind.[39]

156 x 181 626 To avoid aggression, people also avoid any direct criticism outside of the immediate family, instead expressing disapproval in gossip. Obviously the need of controlling direct criticism and the substitution of malicious gossip makes for hypocrisy, which is potentially dangerous, since it may also lead to ill feeling and recriminations. For this reason gossip is carefully controlled. Most people when sober are extremely reluctant to gossip, the most consistent manifestation of such behavior coming from older men. Fear of creating offense and trouble is one reason why Indians will rarely report community delicts to the police. Old Kean said that even if he found a dead body in the bush, he would never report it to law enforcement authorities. The absence of sadistic and malicious humor is a further instance of cultural organization toward the goal of deference. Only rarely does humor function toward social control, and then not with the aim of singling out an individual for criticism but rather a group—such as youth. Here, apparently, safety is perceived in number and generality.

156 x 181 578 The unformalized patterns which we have just described are all directed toward the end of forestalling overt hostility and violence. In addition, we have attitudes decrying aggression. For example, there is no admiration for might and power. The grizzly bear is clearly powerful, but he is the most feared animal in the Cassiar and a common feature of socially patterned anxiety dreams. Because of his very strength, which leads him to court danger by attacking people, the grizzly bear lacks intelligence. Indians fear him exactly as they fear any hostile person who can cause trouble and injury. Aggressive people are regarded as somewhat "crazy" and there is ideally a strong belief that such troublemakers are better locked up or removed from the society. Above all, hostilely disposed people must not be offended; still they are admired by no one.

156 x 181 Opinions about the second World War, which terminated during the period of field work, offer another insight into the expression of deference in ideas. Nitla resented any ex-

[39] See, for comparison, Elwin, *Maria Murder and Suicide* (1943), particularly pp. 116–127. The entire book presents descriptions of behavior in striking contrast to that which we are here describing for the Kaska. Obviously, it would be extremely valuable to know something about the basic motivations to which the Bison Horn Maria's violence is related.

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pectation that Indian youths should be conscripted to fight and wondered how the government could utilize men to kill, at the same time evading the responsibilities which the white society demands for murder. The government, he opined, was "not smart. He send his boy to the war. . . . You smart, you gotta hold his boy. Then damn good, number one government. He want to make try lots of fun . . . the Jesus, He can't send to war his boy. . . ." Another youth ascribed the cause of the dysentery outbreak to the bloodshed that the war was fostering.

The hostility component. It is well recognized that a certain component of hostility is an inevitable concomitant of the socialization process, and that throughout the subsequent life of an individual additional frustrating or anxiety provoking conditions may strengthen this component. It is also necessary to recognize that a motive like deference may further reinforce the hostility component when it does not permit aggressiveness sufficient opportunity for discharge. Accumulated aggressiveness comes into conflict with deference and is repressed. The repressed hostility provides an area for fecundating anxiety which, in turn, creates fresh hostile impulses—and so on, in a vicious circle.[10] We will now investigate the manner in which this largely unconscious hostility component is kept in check and the conditions under which control is abrogated.

The very fact of repression indicates that aggressive impulses are intolerable to the ego and therefore denied. That individuals deny their hostility is evident from the conscious attitudes strongly stressing the ideal of warm human relations and condemning violence. Dreams often reveal quite a different tenor of thinking. In a person like Old Man, who is frequently occupied in forestalling drunken aggression and who enjoys a reputation for pacificity, there are many examples of dreams expressing unconsciously motivated hostility. One example may be given here.

> 12/12/41 (Old Man's Place). "I dream that Mrs. Louis Mann couldn't talk no more. They figger her tongue was tied up. And River Joe said: 'John [the ethnographer] getting poor and kids getting poor. He never eat?' he told me. 'They eat.' 'I hear they're starving.' 'No, they get grub yet.' He start to tell me about that woman, Mrs. Sam. 'No?' I told him. 'Because his mother died that's why old women look after him. I'm not that much crazy? Funniest dream I ever had."
>
> Old Man was asked if he had dreamed of the current Mrs. Mann.
>
> "No. Louis Mann first wife. She talk, she talk, Finally his mouth quit. Just fell down. I told Mrs. Sam—she want to help—I say: 'Don't help. Maybe she got some kind of fortune.' You know, some people other doctor. They just drop. . . . After I set my net. Short net, just as long as boat. I just get one whitefish." [What kind of woman was the first Mrs. Mann?] "Mean woman." Old Man denied that she had ever been mean to him. "Just mean to his husband."

This dream occurred on a night when, in order to arrange transportation to Lower Post and to pick up seriously needed additional food, the ethnographer's wife with Old Man's daughter, Louise, and Elsie Lang were absent from the settlement to visit Louis Mann. The ethnographer's food supply was low and for several days loans had been solicited from Old Man, who was also feeding his son-in-law's mother, Lady Sam, whose own mother had died a month previously. In the dream Louis Mann's first wife loses her voice while her

[10] A more extensive theoretical formulation of these principles will be found in Honigmann, *Navaho Values and Psychoanalysis* [Unpub. 1950-1951].

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156 father, River Joe, suggests that the ethnographer's family looks ill fed. Here we see Old
181 Man's anxious anticipation of the gossip which will be set in operation when the women
787 reach Louis's place and ask for food. River Joe will surely seize upon this lack of food as a sign that Old Man did not take proper care of his white visitors. Old Man knew that Louis and River Joe both had warned the ethnographer about the "poor place" Old Man had to offer. The dream therefore expresses an aggressive wish that his enemies' tongues should become unable to gossip. By reference to the principle of condensation, we understand the first Mrs. Mann to stand for her father, River Joe; for her husband, and for her sister, the present Mrs. Mann. The first Mrs. Mann was "mean"; this fact helps to explain her selection by the dream work in an attempt to characterize all of her referents as unpleasant people. The evil nature of gossip is revealed in the association to the dreaded otter. Up to this point the dream strives to express Old Man's fear of hostility as well as the accompanying aggression against his enemies.

But the dream also refers to Lady Sun. Apparently (in the dream) River Joe had insinuated that Old Man was cohabiting with this woman. During the previous summer, River Joe had unsuccessfully attempted to secure Lady Sun as his wife. Now Old Man "has" her, at least in the sense that she is sharing his house. Old Man, however, often complained about this woman eating his grub. Is this dream then also an expression of guilt because of his lack of generosity? That suggestion gains support when the conjunction of Lady Sun and the ethnographer is considered. Old Man is chafing under this woman's stay in his home but the ethnographer is also borrowing food which Old Man cannot refuse to lend. In the dream he resents both the woman's and the ethnographer's drain on his limited resources, but feels guilty about his resentment and also dreads being gossiped about as a stingy host. The denial of sexual interest stands for a denial of general, emotional interest in Lady Sun's well being, an interest that Old Man cannot afford to develop. The episode of the short net, which is a reference to Old Man's reduced powers as a food getter, adds more to the interpretation. He secures only one whitefish. That being the case, how can he be expected to provide for so many people? The last note in the dream, therefore, recognizes the essential and unavoidable truth in the gossip (Old Man's settlement was short of grub), which Old Man would like to stop, figuratively by tying up his enemies' mouths.

157 In Kaska society intoxication often results in the release of a portion of the hostility
781 component, and for a number of men such behavior can usually be accurately predicted.
273 Under alcohol rational controls largely disappear, so that an individual is sometimes overwhelmed by the excitement of his unharnessed impulses. This theory explains the outbursts of rage, hostility, and catastrophic reactions that sometimes appear with drinking and of which many people in the community are afraid. Generally, however, drunkenly expressed hostility is not completely undirected. A subliminal measure of control over the labile excitement is maintained, and for this reason drunken aggression is usually focused upon the continuation of past quarrels, traditional enemies, fancied aggressors, or (as sometimes happens) strangers within the tribal district. It is also noticeable that, following a prolonged series of hostile attacks, swearing, and violence, aggression is finally directed toward the self. A number of men and women were observed who, at the height of intoxication, began to moan, sob, cry for their mothers, or wildly condemned themselves for being "no good."

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[181] ties were weak and unformalized. When a band through marriage secured
571 members of another dialect division (i.e., tribe) the affinal kinship ties were apt
578 to be riddled by considerable distrust. Even today relations between dialect groups are apt to be strained although considerable marriage has taken place between them. Thus on its peripheries the band was extremely unstable and possessed few mechanisms for cementing relationships with other bands. Between such units only more distant blood and affinal kinship ties operated, and here the emotional factor needed to reinforce kinship ties in a society where interpersonal relations are not strictly formalized was even more minimal. Covert interpersonal hostility was congruent to and almost inevitable in such a social structure wherein the individual literally felt he could depend on nobody but himself and in which mistrust rapidly mounted beyond the nuclear family. Obviously, therefore, relatives and neighbors often failed to inspire confidence or security and numerous possibilities for suspicion of malevolence were available. In the absence of any organized chieftainship such antagonisms were primarily subject to individual control in accordance with the ideals of the society.

754 This analysis has not yet directly explained one important feature of Kaska
● 186 witch-fear. Why was suspicion of witchcraft so often directed against children?
858 In part the answer may lie in the fact that adults often circumvented accusations by placing the blame for alleged bewitchment on defenseless children. A psychological explanation underlying such behavior can be found in the fact that the Kaska's timidity in interpersonal relations and the correlated deference patterning manifest adult relations made it undesirable to arouse direct hostility.[8] Children, therefore, were safer targets for accusations. Finally we must look to the society's attitudes toward children. The inhibition of demonstrative affection to children has already been pointed out and would seem to
[842] point to ambivalence as regards children. An interpretation of conflicting attitudes toward offspring is strengthened by the evidence that some women do not want children and this is related to expressions of masculine striving in some female members of the contemporary society. There are more socially patterned techniques for inducing sterility and contraception than there are means of promoting fecundity. It becomes conceivable, therefore, that a woman who was emotionally withdrawn and unconsciously ambivalent in her attitude toward children could assist in the torture of her own or a relative's child. Emotional rejection, it must be pointed out, is not correlated with conscious hostility toward children and of course not all parents demonstrated hostility to children. Many greatly feared the hysterical outbreaks of witch-fear and witch-hunting and sought to protect their families by removing them from the area.

[8] Kluckhohn has found fear of witchcraft among the Navaho to be associated with only a slight incidence of overt interpersonal aggression. (Kluckhohn, 1944, p. 33.)